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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiuna hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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244 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a
241 facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the
262 process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated
826 with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He [602] does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weed-
244 ing need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the
[462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of • [492] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

112 Pig hunting *Becoming a Kwoma*

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usually hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shepherd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butchering usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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[p 168-D]

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women [855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it [123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to [136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 947 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal

583 591 611 595 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniema or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 [613] [252] I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [582] She was carrying a heavily laden mat bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, [524] and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and Knos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.